2: Schram--202 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Lamasery of the yellow lamas of Hui-kou-long (Kou-lan Sining). With few exceptions, all the lamas are T'ou-jen.

[21 cont.]
*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengĕre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[794] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
[527] ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[273] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a
[346] spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the
[791] spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[22 cont.]

[346] must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*[778] constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is
[791] preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The soothsayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also
[562] enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may
[846] not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

[765] Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
*[778] He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[67 cont.]

539 *778 prayer. He prayed for seven days. On this obo they heaped white stones. Within the circle of the obo they piled large stones in layers. On the peak of the obo they stuck cypress twigs and tied wool from the white sheep to them. They covered the circle of the obo with white earth (5). They wrapped the obo with silk.

[822]

5. [Foreign text p. 69.] The white color is the lucky color of Lamaism. The white conch, the white earth-god urns, the white flocks of wool on the twigs of the tree of life are to be recalled. When someone starts a journey it is said: may your way be white. Among the Tulkus this is even symbolically expressed by scattering flour, chalk, etc. on the path. The monasteries are painted white, and the palace of the earth-spirit is supposed to be white.

[484]

[346]

In the days of the three summer months they threw at the obo, galloping on their horses. They threw white stones, they threw gold and silver, they threw grain and butter. And the life of man unfolded" (6).

6. [Foreign text pp. 69-70.] This passage is literally translated from the Tujen version of the Geser legend as it was dictated to me by a singer with the aid of the old man. It characteristically shows how closely the conception of the obo is connected with Buddhistic forms. Nothing is to be seen of the repeatedly asserted hostility between Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic cults. In lamic monasteries there are books concerning the erection of obos; I did not succeed in seeing such a book, however,

[68 cont.]

192 *778 The game is cared for by the mountain-spirit: lawdzë udaġladzān sōwa (or fsüärëġwa) = birds (or game) are ruled by the obo.

The dog of the mountain-spirit (wolf): yifulani noxuę.
The old people relate legends: šdogu kunsgë xuęńge gulie-.
Whose legends are many: kāni xuę uluona?
Large and small drink barley wine: šge mulā dërasēńgë udzi-.
Today is good: niudurġuo dur sēna.
In conviviality let us sit together: suġdzieńge sōldeya!
One does not know today what tomorrow will be: niudurë malõńguni lï mudien.
With death it is all over: fugugë bura dzia.
We come into the world for nothing: ndziġdienë (8) [see Note 8 above]) arãń nigë huę rëdziā- (nigë xue = once).

[Pages 68-71 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[71] 5. The Chorten Chamber*

*778 • 346

* See "Notes," pp. 77-79 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621] [351] In each Tujen village and sometimes also in individual compounds there is a chorten chamber. The actual name is hundred-thousand-house. This chamber looks like a small temple without doors. In it there are several sacred urns, which are buried under 100,000 small clay cones. In this cone-mountain is stuck the column of the sky, which is covered with all kinds of blessing formulas.

[71 cont.]

346 *778 [62] [792] The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village. Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] [777] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] [791] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192]

1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽn designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽn), that is, 100,000. kãn is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãn.

[72 cont.]

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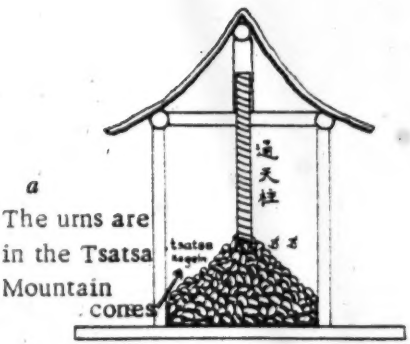
[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] Accordingly, bẽn̂-kãn̂ would mean: the chamber of the 100,000, or more freely and with reference to the sasa contained in it, chamber of the countless sasa, chorten chamber. In the DMF binkãn̂ stands for it, with the explanation: "small temple with four doors, where one puts the idols and religious objects that one no longer wants to keep in the house (it is usually built at the exit of a village or at a crossroads)" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. bank'aṅ, "store-room, treasury" [cited in English]. -- According to all the information available to me, the bẽn̂kãn̂ never has a door; the informant



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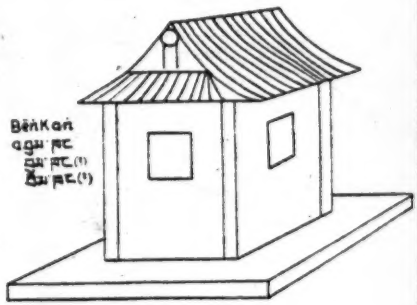
The urns are in the Tsatsa Mountain cones



a: Chorten chamber inside; b. chorten chamber outside.

also definitely denies that superfluous cult objects that one no longer wants to keep at home are put in it. The name might better be derived from bum-k'aṅ, "urn-house." bum-k'aṅ, namely, is also the central part of a chorten, which, of course, is urn-shaped.

[72 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] According to W.A. Unkrig, the Mongolic rendering of it is bum-xan. In Mongolic linguistic usage this would be the same as cara-ĩngĕr, with which a cremation house is designated, literally, "house of the frying pan" (communication). But even this interpretation seems doubtful.

The informant is probably correct with his explanation: bẽṅ = 'bum = 100,000, countless; and bẽṅkã́ṅ = house of the countless (chorten). In the literature "Ts'a ts'a house" is used for it, for instance, A. Tafel, Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], II, p. 265. To be sure, Ch. Das, too, speaks not of a 'bum-k'aṅ, but of a ts'a-k'aṅ: "place, where ts'a-ts'a are kept" (p. 1017) [cited in English]. In general, these little clay cones are stored in huge quantities in chorten or dwellings, etc., and A. Tafel would like to connect this custom with the Bon religion; cf. op. cit., pp. 198, 265. At any rate, the popular belief of the Tujen ascribes great power to these ts'a-ts'a. Concerning the significance of the ts'a-ts'a in Buddhism proper, cf. the relevant works by Tucci.

Nothing specific, however, is designated by the name bẽṅkã́ṅ; it is only a generic concept. As the lamas in the Mongol lamasery Dsadsang near Tangkar and in Kumbum say, there are two groups of bẽṅkã́ṅ. First there are those without walls and roof, for example: loġ-loġ (a kind of stone pyramid); ndõṅ-ndõṅ; serwdziãl. Secondly, those with walls and

[72 cont.]

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*778
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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] a roof, such as dzĕw-yi and ger-kañ. The kañ described here is this ger-kañ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kañ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for beñkañ, such as mani beñkañ, tsāla beñkañ, dsōma beñkañ, maridzĕ beñkañ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the beñkañ. The many rĕduombeñ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mañgudzĕ, probably also belong among the beñkañ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons? All the persons of the village take part in the
496 preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides
[562] the work among the individual families. At the erection and the consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women
[792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

3: Schröder--139 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[74 cont.]

*778

[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] assertion, are likewise placed in the chorten chamber. At any rate, they are to be distinguished from the tormas, which are never made of clay; cf. Ch. Das, p. 1019, and A. Tafel, I, 221, II, 331.

are carried in a pile into a temple hall or into a clean yard. On the last day before the construction the lama goes there, sprinkles them with holy water, and prays over them. Then he makes a torma on the spot, which is placed before the clay cones with the customary seven water-bowls. After everything has been fumigated with incense, he gives the votive prayer and then goes back to his host.

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[791]

The erection of the chorten chamber: On the seventh day the spear-soothsayer appears very early in the morning. He divines in the yard, under the questioning of the leader, when and where the chamber is to be erected. Then he goes out and with spear-shaking indicates the precise spot by driving the spear into the ground there. The lama meanwhile drinks his morning tea.

Now the people bring everything, stones, beams, chorten, clay, straw, urns, in short, all that is necessary. For the lama a white felt mat is spread out in an easterly direction, a small kang-table is placed on it, and a delegation is sent to invite him ceremoniously and escort him to this spot. He takes his seat on the mat and begins his prayer, accompanied by bell and drum.

The soothsayer now takes away the spear, and the men scatter twigs of the tree of life and barley grains over the place where it was driven into the ground. Then they place the first large urn precisely on the mark left by the spear, and [75] each of the four other small urns at the four points of the compass. Behind these the sky column with the four points of the compass indicated on it is set up. It is not driven into the ground, but

[75 cont.]

*778 346 is held by hand for the time being while the men in great haste pile up the clay cones, basketful after basketful, over the urns and around the base of the column until the latter remains standing by itself. Once the urns are covered to a certain level, all kinds of additions are once more scattered over them, the kinds of things that the urns already contain and which have been left over for the purpose. Now, with the same ceremonies, the second layer follows with the next four urns, which are grouped precisely around their large urn, the latter being placed directly over the large urn below. And again the clay chorten are piled over them until finally the urns are buried under a pyramid and only the upper part of the column remains visible. -- The column comes to stand on the side of the urns facing a mountain, which, in this mountainous terrain, can be seen immediately.

Before the column is buried by the many chorten, it is sprinkled once more with holy water and fumigated (5). During

[532]

5. [Foreign text p. 78,] As monks in Kumbum said, before the erection of sky column, a floor drawing or a leaf of paper with a drawing is first placed on the ground (mandala). The informant was of the opinion that this is not always the case. It is noteworthy that this drawing has exactly the same name as the central fort, namely, sdziñkuor. This would indicate that in both cases the same thought is involved.

the entire ceremony, from morning until evening, the great incense offering is burned in front of the spot or at several places in the vicinity. At the conclusion, even the lama himself makes the incense offering before the consecrated and fumigated chorten-mountain with the column, while everybody kowtows.

Afterwards he again sits down on his mat and proceeds with his prayers. Meanwhile the chamber is built with great haste. First the four corner posts are erected and connected

[75 cont.]

*778 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader
• 346 brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves.

[483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. --

[783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day.

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten chamber

[527] with holy water after the whitewashing; then all go home and celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

[76 cont.]

*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
● 346 are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
782 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too, however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
[772] connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[757] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the bẽṅkãṅ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual
[772] realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam.
[171] Also, in the case of the customs

[836 cont.]
241 782 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the [628] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also, [346] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at [787] least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple or temple yard.

Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the [801] books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, although because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

[1] [i.e. - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 792 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi- 792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent [624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

[103] The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luṅ is Tibetan. dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage." [192] In the figurative sense it has become the established expression for "monastery" (vihāra), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; luṅ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luṅ is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply [346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

[254 cont.]

792 [346] a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples, halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses, and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery. [103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń, just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. According to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple 792 778 796 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide. It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgẽ, that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite simply shai Fuo-yeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be- [788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 103 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their designation Rguloń (Rẽguloń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery, which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact, one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining, has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively in books and official documents.

792 [361] [346] [103] [175] The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic requirements in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern ridge, which bears the name Tuguän-ula, Tuguän mountain (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

[256 cont.]

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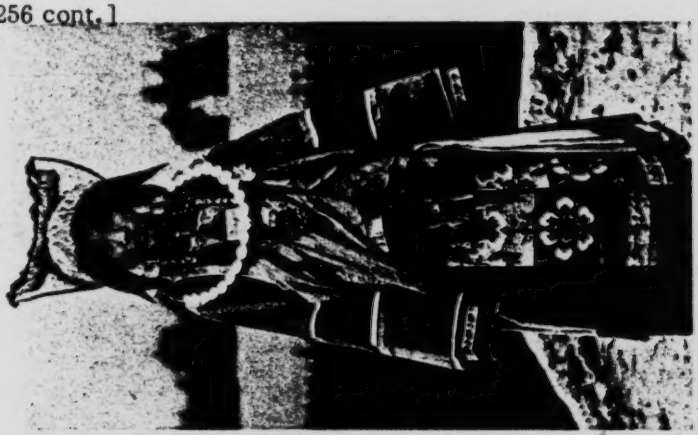

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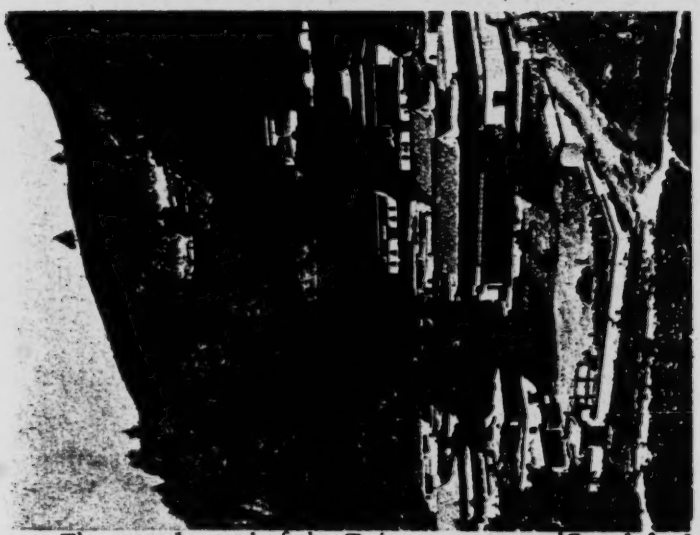

a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguãn palace, Tuguãn-laroñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguãn mountain, Tuguãn-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress. Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited; the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism.

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism.

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans' " (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana."[33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34]

[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.
[32] *Ibid.*, 96.
[33] *Ibid.*, 92.
[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911), rumors upset the country for a long time, according to which all the temples were to be confiscated and converted into schools. The Li T'u-ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser of the two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzan, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzan called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fo-ssu.

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SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning monasteries built during the Yüan period, linger among the lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 *li* southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203–1282),[25] the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

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In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'ü-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding moun-

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[25] Gunther Schuleman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Güyük and Mönke most of the lamas on duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kukunor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skya (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang*, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 57).

[p. 14(B)]

tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'ŭng, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[35]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most important monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

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[35] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934-1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. I, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The prin-

ciples on which succession by reincarnation are founded had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashilhumpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.[48] Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.[49] Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincaration, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.[50]

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. 14*a*, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as

[48] Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.
[49] Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.
[50] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237. [p.21(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the temple of T'ieh-fu-ssu, 40 *li* west of Hsining in 1537 (ch. 31, p. 15*a*).

The information in the *Annals* is restricted to these five poor items. Huth notes[51] that the Third Dalai Lama, Sod-nam, on his way to Ordos in 1582, went from Kukunor to Kumbum and established a college there for the explanation of sacred texts. From Kumbum he went to Ribo-nan-tig (probably the hermitage of Dantig noted on pp. 31 *sq.*), to take a long rest; then, after visiting many big lamaseries, he arrived in the Ordos. I am unable to identify the names of the lamaseries noted here, and am very sceptical about these "big" monasteries, because no ruins, vestiges or traditions of them are preserved. The big monasteries of Huang-chung which have to be studied, were all built in more recent times. The historical data are again very scanty.

CH'Ü-T'AN-SSU, FIRST LAMASERY BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

The first lamasery built during the Ming, according to the *Annals* (ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*), is the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an.[52] The history of this first lamasery, built by the Ming emperors, is preserved in broad strokes in the text (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 32, pp. 16–20) of three steles, now demolished. All three give evidence of the high consideration of the emperors for Lamaism.

The first text was granted by Emperor T'ai-tsung (Ch'eng-tsu) of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424), and concerns a "golden" (bronze) statue offered to the lamasery by the emperor. The text notes that the artisans, not succeeding in preparing the mold for the statue, went to eat their meal. While they were gone the mold grew into perfect shape of its own accord. The statue was cast from it and exuded a wonderful perfume.

The second text was granted by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Hung-hsi period (1425). It recalls the merits of Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399), who founded the monastery, ordered the building of a temple, and granted the name of "Ch'ü-t'an," and of Emperor T'ai-tsung who ordered the construction of a second temple.

The third text, granted by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Hsüan-te period (1426–1436), ordered the construction of a third temple, after recalling summarily the history of the lama, San-la, and his tribe, and the grant of the monastery and its title.

Legends

The origin of the celebrated monastery is overlaid with a wonderful legend, believed and enjoyed by the people. It should first be remembered that Emperor

[51] Huth, *op. cit.* 2: 227.

[52] Ch'ü-t'an-Gautama, a name of Shakyamuni, means "most victorious on earth."

into the well and disappeared. Only his clothes were seen in the river with which the well was connected underground. The emperor ordered the well to be filled and had a beautiful tower built over it. The ruins of the tower are still shown to visitors. 539

There are displayed in the head temple three fine saddles of unusually large size, with stirrups twice as large as those used today, for in former times people of note were taller, bigger, and stronger. The saddles are said to have belonged to the emperor and his brothers. When the emperor died his two ministers, in fear of having their families exterminated, changed their names. The first adopted the name of Chen Lo-kang, and his descendants still live in the Kang-tse Valley near Nien-pei. The other adopted the name of Yang Kang-tsun; his descendants live in Chen fan Valley. 538

The emperor appointed a member of the imperial family to manage the lamasery. He was called T'ien-hu-chün, and his name was Chu, the name of the imperial family. The appointment was hereditary and the emperor had carved on a slab the provisions concerning the appointment. The descendant of Mr. Chu presided over the ceremony of theatrical representations on New Year's. Later on, a corrupt descendant, after using the revenues and land taxes of the monastery for himself, was killed by the lamas, and the slab was smashed. The plinth which supported the slab is still shown to visitors.

Inside the courtyard of the enormous temple are the ruins of four beautiful stupas built by the Emperor. At the base of each he had buried, at night, immense treasures. One of the previous incarnations of the Living Buddha dug up the treasure from one of the stupas at night and took it to his residential quarters; but within a few moments his palace vanished in a blaze. Since that time, no one has dared to try to remove the treasures.

Upon his death, the emperor was buried in the lamasery. However, the lamas of Hung-shan-ssu claim that the emperor died and was buried in their monastery, and they have the visitor admire their own ruined tower built over a well and their own old dry tree enclosed in their temple. These honored trees, enclosed by a temple, point to the tree of Kumbum which sprouted from the afterbirth of Tsong khapa buried in Kumbum, even as the small trees sprouted from the roots of the old dry one. The tower built on the well points to the stupa of Kumbum, said to be the first monument built at Kumbum. It is hard to say which of these legends is the oldest.[84]

Temples and History of the Lamasery

Inside an enormous rectangular courtyard are three temple halls built in a row; a wall encloses the court- 792 346

[84] In Kumbum in 1577 there was built a temple enclosing the celebrated tree which was at that time 223 years old.

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yard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples.

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-che (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. One contains butter, one vegetable oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously.

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368–1398; Yung-lo, 1403–1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426–1435; Wan-li, 1573–1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628–1643.

In temple (B) called the Chü-k'ang, smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hlarang (Maitreya—the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lamas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries:

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung-shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8*a*). In 1747 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation.

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14*a*). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16*b*) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests included in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh.

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meeting with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yellow Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, 227). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Kukunor, where he remained for three months without even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?[65] According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19*a*). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,[64] the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,[65] the palace for the Khampo in 1687,[66] the Pakar temple in 1692,[67] Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,[68] College of Medicine in 1850,[69] and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.[70] Ac-

[63] W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung Pao* 11: 14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.

[64] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.

[65] *Ibid.*, 124.

[66] *Ibid.*, 237.

[67] *Ibid.*, 230.

[68] *Ibid.*, 137.

[69] *Ibid.*, 65.

[70] *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910–1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908–1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with

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tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum.

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*[71] notes that the series of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed.

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery.

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the committee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by

the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun, (Frontier Affairs)* 3 (5): 5, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

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Achia.'" [74] However, the myth of his previous existences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous existence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia." [75]

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu [76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha.

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the

[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.
[75] *Ibid.*, 110.
[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. *"dGon"* means a hermitage, hence a monastery; *"lung"* means valley—the hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *K'u-lung;* the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kukunor.

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Legends

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280–1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Saskya Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

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At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and T'u-kuan, and the obsession for reincarnations which was in full swing at that time. Sumpa II must have been one of the countless so-called "minor" Living Buddhas who were not listed on the register of Buddhas in Peking, and to whom the title of Hutukhtu had not been granted, but only the title of Jassak Lama. In the same way the minor Living Buddha Sumpa II must have headed the big retinue which brought the "minor" Living Buddha Chang-chia to Peking in 1693, who, only after his arrival at Peking, received his title and became the great Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Until that time Sumpa II, Chang-chia, and T'u-kuan were all "minor" Living Buddhas, living at Erh-ku-lung.

Sumpa III, still a minor Living Buddha, underwent a stiff course of instruction at Erh-ku-lung, under the direction of the celebrated T'u-kuan, after which he was sent for further study to Tibet. The young Sumpa must have been a very intelligent and studious pupil, for in 1726 he had already been appointed mK'ampo of the very celebrated SGoman College in aBras-spuns.[110] At the same time he must have been an unusually strong personality, a man of solidly set opinions, a special individual, a law unto himself, stern and uncompromising, for, in the teeth of strong opposition on the part of the lamas when civil war violently agitated the country, he ordered his lamas to keep quiet and to keep the strictest neutrality because, according to the principles of Buddhism, it is not allowed for anyone, particularly the lamas, to fight and kill.[111] The example was followed by the other monasteries.

Back in Huang-chung in 1730, he founded the monastery of Bshad-sgrab with eighty lamas, and admitted fifteen more from the monastery (hermitage) of Bsam gtang. He was called to Peking in 1737, and appointed by the emperor as spiritual guide of all the princes and chiefs of Mongolia. His prestige in Peking and Mongolia and the consideration the emperor had for him were extraordinary. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu, but he declined the offer, objecting that it was only fit for religious men aspiring to worldly glory. The amazed emperor answered, "You are a genuine religious man." In Peking he revised all the Tibetan books existent in China, and was rewarded by the emperor with the title of Erdeni Pandita.

In 1745 he was appointed the head of Erh-ku-lung. There, his first step was to scale down the splendor of his environment and to simplify his retinue. Sumpa was a learned man. He wrote the famous *History of the Rise and Downfall of Buddhism in India and Tibet*.[112]

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[110] Petech, *op. cit.*, 121.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Sarat Chandra Dass, Contribution to the history and religion of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 58, 1889. This study is preceded by the translation of the biography of Sumpa.

Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 147, after giving the content of the work of Sumpa, concludes: ". . . the work is composed with a wise and discriminating choice of older sources, pointing out for

constructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off.

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain.

Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the rebuilding of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.[141] Instead, he rebuilt his own monas-

[141] It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

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tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was embellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splendid palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial. 175 792 346

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins. 175 794 648

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which occurred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa. 175 578 792 [691]

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung having a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and 175 792 627 762

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On the eastern panel is painted another general, the god of the Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same posture. On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves; he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery.

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the "register of the living and the dead" (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the "Tablet to hook souls" (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: "Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace." All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, "the pursuit of the evil ones," explaining that "the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained."[32] What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hailstorm. The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out

[32] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220. [p.186(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

OM MANI DAYS AND BUMKHANG

It has been noted that in many villages an additional temple besides the community temple, had been built and dedicated by zealous villagers to a Buddhist deity. Every year, in summertime, some lamas, very often of the Red Sect, are invited to perform the rite of the Om Mani. Butter, flour of roasted spelt, and tea are collected among the villagers. The lamas prepare the *tormas*, the cups with water, spices and flowers, the 108 lamps, recite texts, beat drums, ring bells. After the texts are recited the villagers start to make the thousand circumambulations around the temple, saying "Om Mani," spinning the prayer wheels, and moving from east to west in the ritual way. Old and young are keenly interested in the practice and all help to perform the thousand turns. Three lamas sit on a woolen carpet outside the temple, noting the number of turns performed by each villager who comes to have his merits noted. It is a busy day for the lama accountants. It is an interesting rite, performed in high spirits by the whole community. Youngsters run around the temple, competing in speed, praying "Om Mani" while old people walk, absorbed in devotion.

Another quite different Om Mani rite is enacted six times a year by older people, mostly women, members of an Om Mani society, which has a small fund for securing tea and rolls for the devotees. It consists of circumambulations around a Bumkhang, and the turning of prayer wheels, but in a west to east direction. The number of circumambulations is not fixed. All day long the moving devotees go on continuously. At least one lady has to be on the way at all times saying "Om Mani." At the time of calamities the whole population performs the rite.

Bumkhang means "home of the 100.000." Outside of many villages is built a small Lamaist construction at the time calamities afflict the village: epidemics, epizootics, diseases, drought, too much rain. According to the Monguor tradition these mischievous plottings of evil spirits have to be neutralized by magical means by lamas of the Red Sect. They are reputed to be more skilled than lamas of the Yellow Sect in indicating, by means of the deity whom they personally honor and invite to descend into their staff, the way along which these evils are approaching the village, and by what magical means the way can be blocked. Because the rite is thoroughly magical, the circumambulation is made from west to east, and the prayer wheels are turned in the same direction, the opposite way from that prescribed by the Yellow Sect.

Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China) 222 sq., 1952; also Der Hundekopfdämon im Volksglauben des Westtales under des Chinesichs Tibetischen Kontakgebietes im Osttales von Kuei-te in der Provinz Ch'inghai, 143, where the same belief is noted concerning the cat and the dog among the Tibetans of Penpa, neighbors of the Monguors. See also Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Fuchs I, 40.

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Such constructions are never built inside the villages or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u Kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa*. They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against hail as that of the shamans.

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On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building.

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[p. 132(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

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China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused boldly.[82] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[83] but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch'ih-k'o in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*).

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great lama (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*). The *Annals* of Hsining record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

[82] Pokotilov, 129.
[83] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137–141.

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valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssŭ were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-